#### SPECIAL NOTICES.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STOCK-holders of the National Savings and Trust Company, for the election of directors and for such other business as may properly came before it, will be held at the office of the company, northeast corner of 15th st. and New York ave. n.w., on Monday, the 19th day of January, 1920, at 4 o'clock p.m.

E. PERCIVAL WILSON, Secretary.

THE CAPITAL STOCK OF THE LINCOLN
Hall Association is one hundred and fifty
thousand dollars, fully paid. It has no indebtedness except the mortgage debt of fifteen thousand dollars on its reality.

ALLEN C. CLARK,
W. H. RAPLEY,
GEORGE R. REPETTI,
E. E. RAPLEY,
A. P. CLARK, Jr.

District of Columbia, 8s.;

A. P. CLARK, Jr.

I am the President of the Lincoln Hall Association and declare the statements annexed to be correct.

be correct.

ALLEN C. CLARK.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the eighth day of January. 1920.

(Seal.)

GLIBERT A. CLARK.

Notary Public.

TO TENANTS—THE LEGAL DEPARTMENT of the TENANTS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE gives free advice to members, and will present their grievanies before the rent commission expeditiously. Offices open Mondays, Wednesday, and Fridays until 9 p.m. 1903 CONTINENTAL, TRUST BUILDING. Phone Franklin 5778, 14\* THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HOME Building Association will be held at the office of the treasurer, 1907 Pa. ave. n.w., on Tues-day evening, January 13, 1920, at 7:30 o'clock, for the election of officers and directors and such other business as may come before it. JAMES M. WOODWARD, Secretary.

THE HOME BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF fers the opportunity of investing your monthly savings with absolute safety and has never paid less than 5 per cent interest. Payments, \$1 per share a month. Ask about it. Save while you may, you will always be able to spend. Treasurer's office, 1907 Pa. ave. n.w. Secretary's office, 723 20th st. n.w.

PURSUANT TO SECTION 1. ARTICLE 8, OF PURSUANT TO SECTION 1. ARTICLE 8. OF by-laws, notice is hereby given that the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Capital Traction Company for the election of a board of directors for the ensuing year and the transaction of such other busin-ss as may be brought before the meeting, will be held at the office of the company, 36th and M streets n.w., Washington, D. C., on Wednesday, January 14, 1920, at 10:45 o'clock a.m. until 12 o'clock noon.

H. D. CRAMPTON.

Secretary.

THE SILVER SPRING (MARYLAND) VOL-unteer Fire Department building is available for dances, banquets, etc.; 6,000 square feet, maple floors, chairs, steam heat. \$8 night. 30 minutes from 9th and F by Forest Glen cars. Phone Woodside 90. Dr. DUDLEY. Have It Done Right; Get Casev

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requirements? M. A. Leese FIX YOUR
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### GOMPERS NOW FACING STRUGGLE AS LEADER OF ORGANIZED LABOR

Finds Industries in America in Ferment---Ranks of Workers Divided Into Three Distinct Groups.

BY RAY STANNARD BAKER.

trouble, so is Lloyd George. And for a simple reason: followers won't follow. Publics have got out of bounds; they won't stay in old party lines, nor yet in old union lines; they challenge authorold union lines; they challenge authority and discipline. They gibe at insti-

men of America today, not only the arch-type of a movement, but a char-acter, a personage.

I shall never forget one vivid glimpse I had of him in London last year. He was going down in some

triumph as a great figure to visit his birthplace in the slums of the east end. Here it was that his Dutch-Jewish parents had lived; here he learned his trade as a cigarmaker; here as a boy he spoke low Dutch. see him now striding down the

street, a powerful squat figure, followed, a step behind, by a looming bodyguard of labor leaders. He was scattering the assembled and gaping subjects of King George, however well inured to the sight of potentates, to the right and left. His hat was set well back upon his head, his chin was thrust forward and he was throwing aside humorous remarks to his followers. So I saw him once again in Paris. So he strode full-fronted throughout Europe, so sure of himself and of his entire equipment of ideas, so conscious of the immense power of American labor behind him, that he scattered to the right and left all peoples of all nations. He told British, French and Italian labor leaders outte peciand Italian labor leaders, quite posi-tively, what they muss do to be saved. Gompers Like Clemenceau.

Gompers reminds one a little of Clemenceau—a kind of rougher Clemen-ceau, without the French wit and fin-ish, but with many of the same qualiish, but with many of the same qualities of physical and intellectual force and vitality. Gompers, too, is a kind of tiger—an old man long habited to power, able, obstinate, vain, honest—a pattern of the pugnacious conservative. When the chairman of the Senate committee told Gompers that he could either sit or stand while testifying, he replied: ing, he replied:
"I will do anything but lay down."

I speak of Gompers as doing these things; he was, of course, only one of many leaders who represented the main stream of development during recent years of American labor organization.

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Hard-He vded Policy. Well, it was a practical, hard-headed policy, and it has had a great influence in improving the material conditions of the more highly skilled groups of labor. Many of the craft unions are today very powerful and rich. They have fine halls and office buldings, some have hospitals and homes, some have pension and benefit funds. The A. F. of L. itself has a magnificent home office of the skyscraper type at Washington—a very different place indeed from the cluttered little back office where I first called on Mr. Gompers twenty years ago.

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Like all successful movements, labor

Like all successful movements, labor organization in America has tended to become institutionalized—the church of labor, and Gompers is the pope of it.

The leaders are of a very definite type—practical, efficient, unimaginative business men. A group of labor leaders of successful craft unions cannot be distinguished today from any ordinary group of American business men. They are business men, and many employers have found them more than a match. They are traders:

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cighth day of Jamary, 1929.

(Seal.) GHRERT A. CLARK.
Notary Public.

PUILIDING LABORERS' INTERNATIONAL
Protective Union of America, Local Union, No.
2, of Washington, D. C.—We bereby notify the master builders and pasterers that on and after Menday, February 16, 1920, the wages of hod carriers will be 75e per hour.

J. Z. HOTON, Secretary.

RECHARITES AND JONADARS WILL ASSEMBLE at the city post office Wed, Jan. 14, 7.30 p.m., to attend a raily at Liberty Hut.

T. W. NEWMAN, H. C. R.

J. C. FOSTER, G. C.

BY RAY STANNARD BAKER.

ARTICLE VI.

It is now important, if we are really to understand what is going on, to inquire what are the massed forces behind the present industrial struggie. For this steel strike, this coal strike, big as they world—as it undobtedly is It reached its very apex of power and knonor during the war. It came as strongly to the complicated contracts; they handle and invest considerable sums of money. The American labor movement, so far as it is typified by Gommost conservative labor body in the world—as it undobtedly is It reached its very apex of power and knonor during the war. It came as strongly to the support of the government as any chamber of commerce or board of trade. Gompers served on the Council of National Defense and honored in many ways. they meet and haggle over minute

"THE COME-BACK." PUBLISHED BY AUthority of the surgeon general, U. S. Army, in
the interest of wounded patients of Walter
Reed Army General Hospital, announces a nation-wide essay contest open to all schools and
toppils, up to and including the bird schools of
the United States All particulars of the contest will be published in "The Come-back" in
the issue of January 14, 1920.

TO TENANTS—THE LEGAL DEPARTMENT

in both camps and who the real commanders are.

Samuel Gompers is the type-figure
of American labor; he is the most powerful and dominating leader American
labor ever had, but he is today in great
trouble. In this respect Gompers resembles most other leaders were used and
honored in many ways.
All this vigorous and successful development, of course, has not been
without strong opposition. At every
convention of the American Federation of Labor for years before the war
Gompers had a fierce tussic for controil with the radical or socialist left
wing of the movement—but aiways
won out. Gompers has fought socialto the Labor leaders were used and
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All this vigorous and successful development, of course, has not been
without strong opposition. At every
convention of the American
leaders—but aiways
was not the labor leaders are in trouble. Will be published in the labor leaders are in trouble and the labor leaders are in ism tooth and nail for years, with the result that in America the old craft union leaders still dominate the movement, while in England socialists are in control.

Criticisms by Socialists:

The radicals charge that the policy of the American Federation of Labor economic; that it has no social vision that it is essentially aristocratic; that it has built up and protected the skilled crafts, but tended to neglect the great masses of unskilled, or foreign, or negro labor. The progressives say that better hours and more wages are not enough; that these things will never finally content the spirit of the worker; that he musi strive for what many of them call. often vaguely, "industrial democ

racy."
All of these charges have some basis in fact. The number of members in the A. F. of L. has never been more than a very small per centage of the total number of workers. The last census showed over 27,000,000 wage earners in America 27,000,000 wage earners in America including agricultural laborers, domestic servants and other non-industrial groups. But of this 27,000,000 fewer than 8 per cent were in labor organizations affiliated with Gompers' federation. Several of the greatest industries, where unskilled or foreign labor was largely employed, were left almost untouched—like the steel industry, the textile mills, the oil industry and others. On the other hand, the mine workers, with many unskilled and foreign laborers, are firmly organized and affiliated with the A. F. of L.; so are the hodearriers.

This situation gave opportunity for the socialists and radical labor organizations like the I. W. W. to come in. I was at the Lawrence strike in 1912. Here there were several old, small, aristocratic craft unions, but no attention had been paid to the masses of the foreign workers until the I. W. W. leaders came in with their doctrine that the interests of the whole working class foreigners and unskilled, as well as Americans and skilled, were identical—that there should be one great union and a place for every worker in the indus-"I will do anything but lay down."

He will not "lay down"; neverthehe is in great trouble, and an account of what that trouble is will disclose clearly the problems which today confront American labor.

For thirty-eight years, except one. Gompers has been president of the American Federation of Labor. He helped organize it. He has done more than any other man in shaping the American labor movement.

In its beginnings the federation represented a reaction from the policies resented a reaction from the policies of the whole working the foreigners and unskilled, as well as Americans and skilled, were identical—that there should be one great union and a place for every worker in the industrial organization. The idea carried like wildfire, as it has in other industries. Right or wrong, it was a ray of hope to thousands of neglected, underpaid and overworked human beings.

Another charge brought by the progressives was that the skilled craft unions, strongly organized could make advantageous bargains could make advantageous bargains and skilled, as well as Americans and skilled, as

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Get your Window Shades rect from the policies of the old Knights of Labor. The knights did a great work in their day; they helped give labor a national vision, but the organization was too indiscriminate in its membership, too indiscriminate in its purposes, and it made unfortunate ventures into politics. Gompers avoided these mistakes. He built firmly upon narrow but strong craft unions, strongly organized. Could make advantageous bargains with the equally strong employers' associations and mulcit the public. That is the union, having a monopoly on labor, could force up wages; and the employes, having a monopoly on the industry, could force up prices—andthe tunate ventures into politics. He discouraged Utopian schemes; he uriged labor to ask for specific things and a little at a time; better hours and better wages, and to clinch what they got with "collective bargains" with equally strong employers' as with the equally strong employers as too indiscriminate in its membership, too value in its purposes, and it made unfortunate ventures into public. That is the union, having a monopoly on the industry, could force up wages; and the employes, having a wors

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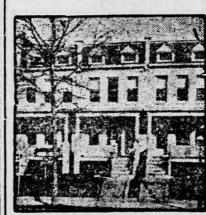
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the immense wage-earning class in unsympathetic toward most of the of the workers of America into radical new movements; that all vital think

chine, headed by Gompers, which is impervious to new it as or new methods; that it is old, rich, conservative and no longer responds to the real aspirations of labor.

Thus Gompers with the wonderful machine he has built up, finds himself attacked upon all sides. A labor party rudder for one hour and fifteen minutes when taken in tow.

served to throw more power into the hands of the radicals. In the first place there has been the long-evident drift in American industry toward the employment of a greater proportion of unskilled men. Employers have introduced machinery and divided the tasks of labor so that each workman has, so far as possible, only one simple manipulation to learn. Modern inmanipulation to learn. Modern in-dustry has stolen away the skill of the craftsman. Any foreigner, no how icho ant; any negro can quickly learn to do much of the work in many or the greatest of our in-iustries. This tends to defeat the whole idea of the old unionism based

apon craft skill especially as it ap-plies to the great basic industries. influence of Foreign Ideas. Other more immediate tendencies have developed out of the war. Since 1914 . I Americans have been more interand Americans have been more inter-ested than ever before in Europe and in bor in America is in a new ferment— European movements; and especially stirred to its depth as it never was the workers. Among foreigners the before. Russian revolution has had a profound influence; among the more moderate and thoughtful groups the program of

the British labor party. I have found parent it may be divided into three in talking with labor meu of all kinds recently an astonishing knowledge of these foreign means the state of the in talking with labor men of all kinds recently an astonishing knowledge of these foreign movements.

Another vital influence may be noted. This is the awakening self-consciousness of labor to its own power, dignity, indispensability, which came with the war. Labor was courted as never before taken into government councils as never before, made to feel that in the future it would enjoy greater privileges than ever before. It came out of the war feeling that it had served well, done all that was expected of it, and was now entitled to the promised rewards.

New and enthusiastic campaigns for the organization of hitherto more or less untouched industries, like the packing houses and the steel mills, were begun. Whole new groups of workers begun. Whole new groups of workers memspaper reporters, architects, nurses —and the wave even swept in many groups of government or public service employes—policemen, postmen, clerks and the like. The most powerful and ably led unions in the country—the railroad brotherhoods—came forward with an ambitious plan, the Plumb plan, for the future control of the railroads. A strong movement was launched for the organization of a new labor party to carry the whole struggle into the politi-

strong movement was launched for the torganization of a new labor party to carry the whole struggle into the political field—which I shail consider in another article—and finally a sudden but enthusiastic interest sprung up in developing wholesale and retail co-operative stores on the English system in order to meet some of the problems of the high cost of living.

This sudden burst of new self-consciousness on the part of labor, new enthusiasm, new organization, has

enthusiasm, new organization, has been met by a cold douche both from employers and from the government. "They taught us to be lions' whelps during the war," as one leader said, "and now they want us to subside quietly into beasts of burden. We

shall never do it."

Now, the progressive and radical groups in the labor movement assert that Gompers and the A. F. of L. are

the immense wage-earning class in America that is not in any union and is thus wholly unproceeded. In short, the masses of the unskilled, the foreigners, the negroes, help pay for the good fortune, the high wages and the short hours of the righly skilled organized workers.

This aristocratic unionism—as they see it—this selfish attention to their own interests, this neglect of the masses of labor, furnishes the chief ammunition of the socialists and the radicals of the I. W. W. type in their attacks upon Gompers and the American Federation of Labor. It has also given powerful impetus to those in labor's ranks (many of them socialists) who want what they call a "real" labor movement and therefore recommend a national labor party in America. They say that the American Federation of Labor has no genuine reconstructive program like the British labor movement and therefore recommend a national labor gard in the finds of the socialists in the steel industry, on a new plan, bornerical the workers of America into radical new wordentship is frowned on by Gompers, the had new leadership is frowned on the party, nor in the property leave the more roless and the more or less "ague but powerful demands for more less "ag

movement, begun scarcely a year ago and led by men in his own camp, is spreading like wildfire. There were never so many unauthorized and un controllable strikes as there hav been recently. Gompers advised the steel workers to delay their strike as the President requested; but they paid no attention to him. There have been powerful and successful insur-gent unions—like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—growing up out-side of the federation. He excom-municates them, but it does no good And finally, to cap the climax, the association with government agencies formed during the war, which Gombers and the A. F. of L. felt to be such a bulwark of strength, has suddenly crumbled away. He is no longer locked to and courted as the supreme arbiter and spokesman of labor. He could not even prevent the government from enjoining the coal miners:

As regards the tendencies now ap-

number o' citizens asked where



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